2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

FOREWORD

The American Papago are found on three reservations, a large one and two small ones, in the southern part of Arizona, near the Mexican border. To the south are the Mexican Papago who live in the same villages with Mexicans and have largely intermixed with them. To the north are the Gila Pima, another branch of the same people who have had much more contact with White Americans than have the Papago. To the west and south are the small groups of Sand Papago, still largely unknown.

American Papago, Mexican Papago and Pima were once part of a large corn raising culture which included the Opata, Tepecano, Tepehuane, and other Sonoran peoples now extinct. The nature of their culture has been a matter of great interest as a link between Mexico and the cultures of the Southwest. The Papago were chosen for study because, though they were not so advanced as their congeners, their position in the desert has left them far less subject to White influence. Their reservation was set apart only in 1917 and they still retain many customs and ceremonies abandoned both by Pima and by Mexican Papago.

Five sojourns were made with the Papago: in June — October 1931, September — October 1932, February — October 1933, November — January 1934, October — November 1935. Most of the time was spent on the Sells reservation, the largest of the three though a few weeks were spent at San Xavier and some days below the Mexican border.

Even among the American Papago it was found that there were decided differences in dialect, customs and ceremonies and an effort was made to get data from each of the three important groups. One of these was often completely ignorant of traditions known to the others, so that it was no uncommon experience to have an informant in one village deny with amusement the possibility of some practise which those in the next village acknowledged as traditional. Since there are over 5000 Papago it was possible to get many points of view and their presence makes one realize how many shadings are found in a living culture which are lost or even distorted in those where only one or two informants are available.

Interpreters were used through the whole period, since I did not trust my rough conversational knowledge of the language

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124 for accurate discriminations. It was found that the interpreter must always be of the same dialect group as the informant and, if possible, of the same village. On the one occasion when an interpreter had to be taken into what was, to him, a foreign village, the general distrust interfered seriously with work.

The informants were chosen because each was expert in some particular line but sometimes a period of probation was necessary on my part before one would consent to instruct me. Consent obtained, the sessions usually ended with the declaration: "I have told you to the best of my knowledge. If some one tells you differently, let me know. I do not wish you to write a mistake." As often as possible various people were consulted, and the variation in their accounts was usually found due to regional differences. Two informants refused to speak at all and their portion of the Wiikita ritual is lacking. The list gives each informant's occupation and the affiliations which might influence him such as sib, village and dialect division. It is realized that to gain a full understanding of regional differences and therefore, perhaps, of the past history of these people, an even more intensive study should be made in each locality.

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[122] The present work was made possible by grants from the Columbia University Humanities Council and from special funds. It was suggested by Dr. Franz Boas, to whom, like all his students, I owe the deepest appreciation for inspiration, for keenly constructive criticism and for discipline in thinking. Dr. Ruth Benedict, under whose direction the work was done has been my constant reliance, not only for administrative help but for the use of her own rich material and for constant suggestion and stimulation. To Dr. Gladys Reichard, Professor of Anthropology at Barnard College I owe much kindly help in the field and out of it. Dr. J. Alden Mason, of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and Dr. George Herzog, of Columbia University, have generously made me free of their material on the Papago and Pima. Dr. Byron Cummings, Dr. John Provinse and Miss Clara Lee Fraps of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Arizona have given me every courtesy and assistance.

On the reservation, I have received valuable aid from Father Bonaventura Oblasser of the Franciscan missions, whose knowledge of the Papago, both from church records and from long experience cannot be duplicated. The two superintendents, Mr. Elliot and his successor, Mr. Hall, have been generous with assistance and hospitality. Mrs. Bennet, Miss Shorten, Miss Rouse, Mr. and Mrs. Carruth and Mr. and Mrs. Moyer all have given me hospitality, transportation and other most necessary aid, often at personal sacrifice to them-

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emphasis on the levirate and sororate. It is the system used, in one form or another, throughout the desert area, the Basin and Plateau, and it would be strange if the Papago had departed from it. There was nothing in their customs to force them to do so since their family was bilateral and the levirate and sororate were practised though not emphasized.

But the Papago were not given to hard and fast rules. It may have been their frugal and difficult existence which forced them always to consider economic convenience first, but certainly the sororate, was practised only if the husband was a good provider and relatives were intimate or not according as they were of economic use to one another. In fact, given the above kinship system as a starting point, the different relationships took on validity for economic and geographic reasons rather than from set ceremonial usage. Consequently the points most important in behavior are not reflected in the terms.

In order to study actual kin behavior, before the days of White influence, a census was made of the families living in eight different settlements between the years 1850 and 1900. This list, contained in Appendix I, notes the constitution of each family group and their economic arrangements for cooperative living, land sharing and gift exchange. Sib was not noted, since it was so rarely known. From this data, we may attempt a picture of actual kin behavior.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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the Spaniards instituted the office of governor and the Americans continued it. Chona's father was the governor of Mesquite Root (kuitatk), an ancient village now abandoned, and Chona spent her girlhood there under conditions differing very little from those of pre-Spanish days.

The story of her past was her constant preoccupation, and snatches of it were narrated at every apportunity. Most of it was taken through an interpreter, for, though the writer spoke a little Papago and Chona a little Spanish, it seemed desirable that her words should be transcribed exactly. They were not taken in text but in as accurate a translation as the writer, engaged in a study of Papago grammar, could work out. The wording, therefore, expresses Chona's thought as accurately as may be.

The arrangement, however, is the writer's. Chona is ninety years old and her memory works with the fitfulness of age, presenting incidents in repetitious confusion. The only possible system was to write each one separately, add to it all the amendments which occurred to her during the years of our acquaintance, and then to question her patiently about the chronology until the correct order was worked out. She repeated each episode so often, however, that there was finally no question as to their sequence.

But the matter of accuracy in both chronology and wording being settled, there still remain, in presenting an Indian autobiography, important questions of technique. Indian narrative style involves a repetition and a dwelling on unimportant details which confuse the White reader and make it hard for him to follow the story. Motives are never explained and the writer has found even Indians at a loss to interpret them in the older myths. Emotional states are summed up in such colorless phrases as "I liked it," "I did not like it." For one not deeply immersed in the culture, the real significance escapes.

The writer felt most deeply the objections to distorting Chona's narrative. Yet if it had been written down exactly as she herself emitted it, there would have been immense emphasis on matters strange to her but commonplace to Whites and complete omission of some of the most interesting phases in her development. Therefore a pattern was followed. While the essentials of the narratives were retained it is hoped at every point, many of the repetitions were excised and the reader is warned of this fact just as he is warned, in the preface to a grammar, that certain phonetic changes regularly take place.

On the other hand, Chona was not allowed to pass over the crises of her life with a mere word. While she had no objection to expressing her emotional states, she took them for granted. But, on being asked, she would amplify in such vivid phrases as "Fear went through me like a snake."

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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Therefore she was frequently asked, and as a result the story has elaboration and emphasis at some points where she would not have placed them, and it stops short where she would have found repetition comfortable. It is an Indian story told to satisfy Whites rather than Indians.

There were reasons other than intimacy and opportunity for choosing Chona as the narrator. She is not the aberrant type which so frequently attracts the attention of the White investigator. She accepted her culture completely, and one reason for choosing her was that she had come into contact with so many of its important phases. As a woman, she could take no active part in the ceremonial life. But her father was a governor and a warrior; her brother and one husband were shamans; her second husband was a song leader and composer. And a Papago woman's history is interesting in itself, because, in this culture, there persists strongly the fear of woman's impurity with all its consequent social adjustments.

Chona accepted her status without stress or rancor. She was, however, not the ideal Papago female type, for she was inclined to be independent and executive. In her old age, when such qualities were not taboo, she ruled her whole connection with a competent hand. In childhood she had a minor maladjustment, soon overcome: she started to make songs. Making songs is the Papago achievement *par excellence*, all outward acts being considered merely as a preparation for it. Chona was no poet by nature: she was, in fact, an executive. But she had some urge to accomplish, as the men accomplished, and the proper avenue was song making. So Chona made songs and saw visions, and had to have her shaman's crystals cut out by a minor operation.

She submitted, and found compensation in her life of child bearing and hard work. But in old age the urge came on her again, and again there was no outlet but visions. These later visions are pathetic in their lack of originality, and the songs which she assured me she had composed herself were often changed, only by a word or two, from songs which had been well known for years. Many Papago compose in this way, since song making is a *sine qua non* for success in life. None consider it plagiarism, for song making is the spiritual crown conferred on one who has already achieved in the physical world.

Chona, in her way, achieved. She learned a manipulation of sick babies which was much respected. Very possibly she had observed its performance by her first husband who was a shaman, but the Papago pattern did not allow her to recognize this: she had to dream it, and she did. She picked up other bits of practical medicine, and she had a dynamic personality which drew patients to her. In the end she did all that her culture would allow her toward satisfying her desires and she was not unhappy.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Apart from those persons we have thanked in common, there is one group of people who were of particular help to me on my field trips while I was testing Papago children. Without their readiness to accept me, who in a sense came as an intruder upsetting the course of their working schedule and even their hours of recreation and well-merited rest, the testing program could not have been accomplished satisfactorily. These people were the principals of schools and the teachers, as well as the Papago interpreters, who co-operated with me in the villages of the Reservation outside of Sells and in the boarding schools near Tucson and Phoenix. They had the children ready for the testing interviews, worked with me, often took me as a guest into their homes and spent considerable time in the evenings discussing Papago characteristics and problems. I am indeed very grateful to them. They are: Dr. John E. King, principal of Tucson Training School, Tucson, Arizona, and the entire teaching staff of that school; the sisters of the Franciscan Order of St. John's Boarding School, Phoenix, Arizona; of St. Anthony's Catholic Mission School, Topawa; and of St. Joseph's Mission School, San Miguel; Mr. R. M. Tisinger, former superintendent of Phoenix Indian Boarding School, and the entire teaching staff of that school; Mrs. Lurline Bennett, at that time teacher of Choulic Day School; Mrs. A. Harvey, school cook at Choulic Day School; Mr. and Mrs. Noble O. Guthrie and Mrs. Myra Byers, at that time teachers at Hickiwan Day School; Mr. and Mrs. Benedict, teachers at Komacte, Arizona, who, though not connected with the research project, gave me their hospitality while I was testing the Papago children at St. John's Boarding School.

I should like also to express my great appreciation and gratitude to all the Papago children who submitted to the ordeal of tests and examinations. They lent to the work the ultimate pleasantness without which it would have become a disturbing ordeal for the tester herself.

A. J.

I should like to thank particularly the members of the Agency staff, for there were few who did not at one time or another supply me with valuable technical information. Some have already been mentioned. Among the others, I am particularly grateful to Mr. Paul Buss, chief forester; Mr. Clarence Kinker, chief, Soil and Moisture Department; Mr. H. A. Moravec, chief clerk; Miss Doris Weston, social worker; Dr. C. O. Eslinger, chief surgeon; and Mrs. Lurline C. Bennett, Indian Service teacher.

My husband, Dr. Edward H. Spicer, social science analyst at the Colorado River War Relocation Center, was a continual source of comfort and good counsel in the various problems which beset the field worker. Dr. Emil W.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

PREFACE

Scattered data on the early agriculture and other aspects of the economic life of various Indian groups in the Southwest are available in the literature, but treatises covering the primitive basis of subsistence of specific Indian groups, such as Hill's *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians* and Whiting's *Ethnobotany of the Hopi*, are rare. Wilson's *Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians*, a Plains tribe, must be regarded as the best account of the technique of Indian agriculture yet published. It is our purpose, therefore, to issue within the next few years a series of comprehensive studies, of which this is the first, presenting the early basis of subsistence of the several Indian groups in the Southwest, with special emphasis placed on agriculture.

The material herein presented is based upon field studies made by the authors among the Pima-Papago in the fall of 1938, 1939 and 1940, supplemented by data gleaned from the relevant historical, ethnographical and archaeological literature. The field studies were made among the Pima on the Gila River Indian Reservation, centering at Sacaton, Arizona; the Papago on the Papago Indian Reservation with headquarters at Sells, Arizona; the Papago on the reservation at San Xavier; and a few Papago on the so-called Maricopa Indian Reservation at Maricopa, Arizona.

The method followed in doing the field work was for the authors to work independently, each with his own informants and interpreters, then compare notes at the end of each day.

Obviously, differences in agricultural technique exist in different parts of the Papago and Pima territories. There is always danger of over-formulating procedures, such as the method of planting. and the reader is cautioned against regarding any such operation or aspect of agriculture as stereotyped. It is realized that among both peoples sub-units

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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CHAPTER III

AN EXPEDITION INTO SOUTHERN ARIZONA—MY COMPANION—THE RANGE OF BABOQUIVARI—FRESNAL—PAPAGO MANNER OF CURING DISEASE—AT THE BOUNDARY—AN UNUSUAL RELIGIOUS COMMOTION—VISIT TO A SACRED CAVE—INDIAN OASIS

●124 On June 20 I started from Tucson bound for a journey of exploration of that part of Arizona which is occupied by the Papago Indians. My sole companion was José Xavier Pablo, a full-blooded civilized native of that tribe, twenty-six years old. He had learned carpentry in Tucson, in which he was as proficient as any white man. He was also a painter and plumber; in fact, he could turn his hand to almost anything of a practical nature. Thus, assisted by two other Indians, he had put up the telephone line between Tucson and the Presbyterian Mission School, which he had frequented for nine years. He furnished his own wagon and two hardy horses bred in the desert, and before starting he shod his horses himself. Pablo also served as my interpreter. He was intelligent and reliable, besides being of an unusually even temper; during the two months we travelled together, I do not remember ever to have known him cross or to lose his temper.

122 In addition to the usual provisions, we had two canteens of the generous Western size, each capable of holding two and one-half gallons of water, and also one of smaller size. Of course, the water barrel on the side of

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

four sticks, taken from the dried plant, are placed, one 222
at each cardinal point. Sitting around the basket, people spend a night singing, while the medicine-man makes prognostications for the coming harvest. The seeds are eaten by those present, and the four sticks are given to four persons who later, when the season comes around, leave them at the foot of a sahuaro.

As soon as the Indians were rested enough after the 124
celebrations that ended the festival, I had an interview with Chief Alvina, whom I found to be conscientious about the information he imparted, and in a charmingly sincere way not afraid of telling anything. His father, who had died two years before, had been chief before him. The Papagoes declined to tell anything about their beliefs and ancient customs, he said, but he could see no harm in letting strangers know about them. Unfortunately for me, his knowledge of those matters was not commensurate with his liberality. Furthermore, he al- 774
ways told his people that there was no harm in being photographed. Their fear he could not comprehend. He had himself been photographed many times, and he never inquired as to what they were going to do with his photograph.

It was a very exceptional stand he had taken; as a rule, the Papagoes have the greatest objection to the camera. They are not afraid of it, but are intensely annoyed at the photographer's efforts, because, in their opinion, part of themselves will be taken away and will always remain behind after death, causing much disturbance to the departed, who in that way will be, so

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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774 to speak, only three-quarters complete in the other life. Usually the people ran away from my kodak, and it was extremely difficult to photograph them unawares, as they are very keen and in a way scent the impending danger. A young, good-looking man, of whom I asked permission to take a quick photograph, surprised me by answering in the affirmative. He entered his house to get ready for the fray, saying to his wife, "I am going to have my picture taken. I am a man and I am not afraid of seeing myself after death."

●124 I kept the honest chief till late in the afternoon, when he was obliged to go to his sahuaro camp, near the south end of the Quijotoa Range. He offered to return the following day, but I thought it better to look him up later on. There was present at the interview a man who had acted as a singing shaman at the feast, Juanito by name. He owned a few head of cattle and some horses, and had been much with whites, hauling wood or doing similar work, but in spite of this he spoke no English and only a few Spanish words. It was he who in the excitement of the feast had waked me up in the middle 124 of the night. Some twelve years ago Juanito had seen 532 a Mexican make a drawing, and last year it had occurred to him to try his hand at this accomplishment, which had made a strong impression on him. Considering that this was his first and only effort with the pencil, the product was by no means discreditable. His brother posed for him on horseback for half an hour, in order that Juanito might get a clear conception of the subject he was going to draw. Strange to say, he did not draw

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124 him then, but during the following three days he worked
532 at the drawing from memory in his spare time, being mostly occupied in his field and with his cattle. After long deliberation, he finally consented to part with the picture which is shown on plate. The horse is painted with red ochre and the necktie is blue, the color having been bought in an American store. The artist was about fifty years old.

241 Following a fairly good wagon road eastward through
312 the Comobabi Mountains, I first halted at a rancheria called "Badger's Well," where I found all the old people absent in the sahuaro fields. The younger generation, inclined toward the white man's ways, offered little of interest. They spent much of their time in laughter and animated talk at the well, where they watered their cattle and horses. I noticed a quail creeping stealthily to drink from the overflow of the water, a few yards from the well. Its thirst was quickly satisfied, when it retired to safety among the bushes.

492 A man sold me a spur made from the cleft of a mez-
quite bush. It has a very sharp point, which is most efficient, though cruel. Only one foot is thus provided.
316 A negro came along, a rather strange appearance in this part of the country; he told of a silver mine four miles east of there that he and half a dozen of his race owned. It had been found by one of them who had been a prospector for eight years.

764 There were many ants in my camp, so I was glad to pack up in the morning. A visit was first made to the burial place, which was of the usual unattractive de-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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285 The lady of the house had in active use two of those
482 peculiar burden baskets called *kíbo*, in which the women carry on their backs loads of wood, gourds, or pottery, as the case may be. It consists of an attractive looking net-work of mescal fibre, which has been produced from the leaves after they have been first boiled. The net is attached to a hoop which is fastened between four long poles of sahuaro ribs and is supported by a woven band of strips of zotol leaves that passes over the forehead. This contrivance is getting to be rare in the Papago country, with the introduction of mules and horses, and the woman who owns one is with difficulty induced to sell it. She spends considerable time in its manufacture, and in an old-fashioned family like the present it is of very great
302 usefulness in every-day life. The black twine was from her children's hair, which she cut once a year until they were about twelve years old. I expressed an ardent desire to buy one that was standing outside of the house against the wall, and, after having thought the matter over for a couple of hours, she decided to sell the most used one for five dollars, though she hated to do so; for an additional fifty cents she would mend the net-work and put in a new plaited band for the back and the head. The offer was promptly accepted.

Pablo and I made a tour of the houses of the ran-
361
124 cheria, some of them being three-quarters of a mile away. In two of them we found only old deaf women at home, the rest of the families being at the harvest of the savory cactus fruit. On our return, toward sunset, our Indian
513 friend and little Marianita were busily engaged in wash-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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ing a large sleeping mat, plaited from zotol leaves in the usual manner, which I had also bought. Another, a smaller daughter, sat near by, while on the roof the third child, a boy of eight summers, was romping in a short shirt, throwing stones and looking picturesque against the blue sky and the mountains of Baboquivari. One's photographic propensities are sorely tried under such tempting circumstances. As we approached, the boy descended. Pablo, at my bidding, engaged the family in conversation and I tried to avoid observation while taking snapshots, for, if seen, that would have put a speedy end to the friendship so happily begun.

This was an attractive family that carried one's thoughts back to the Indian of long ago. The mother seemed the incarnation of sterling qualities, well meaning, intelligent, and active. She had quite an eye to business, but she asked fair prices. She looked about fifty, the picture of health, and had borne thirteen children, nine of whom were alive; many of these were full-grown and the youngest was six years old. Her husband, who was as friendly as his wife, or even more so, had a peculiar name, Piukváotam, "He cannot be eaten" (because bitter to the taste). This probably expresses some characteristic of antipathy which I failed to discover, the Indians being extremely critical in their application of names.

It was the 10th of July; for several days the maximum temperature had remained at about 100° F. A moist wind, somewhat cooler, had been blowing too gently for real comfort, but that day about sunset the

After a while she ½ appeared at a
482 distance with a big tin bucket on her head, but how much
512 more beautiful my small Rebecca would have looked carrying an earthen-ware jar of native workmanship. There are lots of pottery vessels still manufactured by the Papagoes, but the white man's implements are recognized to be more practical. I suppose the change is unavoidable, but the bucket was distinctly disappointing to my photographic sense. Before she approached my vantage point, an Indian met her who evidently asked for a drink, for he lifted the heavy bucket down, drank, and put it on her head again. When I gave her some candy after the short and unexpected ordeal, she looked frightened. She stepped along quickly, showing somewhat that she felt the weight that she had been carrying for fifteen minutes. This was six o'clock in the morning and, on rising, she had first helped her mother milk the cows.

Half an hour afterward she again passed my camp; this time she was bound for the sahuaro fields along the base of the mountains. The girl of thirteen years walked fast, carrying over one shoulder the long stick with which the fruit is brought down. Two hours later she returned with a small bucket full of the juicy fruit, on which a newly arrived guest and the rest of the family gorged themselves, while she sat near by resting. She did not look tired, however, and I saw her later helping
[177] her mother make wheat biscuits, baking them in an oven adopted from the Mexicans.

● 124 It was a great pleasure to be with these natural people.
533 I sang to them my newly acquired Papago song, "The
774 ½ [i.e., Marianita, a young Papago girl. -Analyst]

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Frog Doctor," one that is used at the sahuaro festival, and ingratiated myself in their favor. The mother, always busy in doing something about the house, was engagingly free and easy in her manner. I ventured to ask if I might not photograph her; she looked disturbed, but after a while consented if I would promise not to show her picture in Tucson. She had the burden basket on her head, appropriately enough for a woman of energy and activity, but her whole being had suddenly changed, and it was impossible to make her walk and look natural. Her face was flushed, she looked embarrassed, and made a poor picture.

In spite of presents to the children, they all steadfastly declined to be photographed. However, sitting down to catalogue my lately acquired ethnological objects in the shade of a jacal, I found opportunities for snapshots while pretending to write. When Pablo took the horses and my dog to the well, I hugely enjoyed a rub down from my wash basin, as well as a change of clothing, and soon we were off again on the road.

At this rancheria I had a curious experience in the morning with a horned lizard (*phrynosoma*), rather dark in color, which my terrier pursued for eight or ten yards, when it flattened itself out and refused to run any more. The dog was watching for it to move and I stepped up. When put on its back it would immediately turn over; stooping down, I tried in vain to tease it to run again, but it remained immobile. I was just about to rise and leave when, to my great surprise, a spray of what appeared to be blood was dashed on my right hand, which was

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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159 During recent years he has been blind, but a friend and his wife have assisted him in placing marks according to his directions. The event of this ensuing year would be the visit of "Carlos" to his sahuaro camp, he 805 said. I append here the Papago calendar which divides the year into thirteen "moons," or *marsat* in the native language.

THE PAPAGO CALENDAR

1. Tonjapik Marsat, Hot Moon (*tonj*, hot).
2. Tjokiapik Marsat, Rainy Moon.
3. Shópol Usapik Marsat, Short Planting Moon.
4. Vársa Kakitak Marsat, Dry Grass Moon (*kákitak*, dry).
5. Vihamik Marsat, Touches Mildly Moon. (The cold touches mildly.)
6. Jómali Súipitik Marsat, Low Cold Moon (*jómali*, low).
7. Úta Váokat Marsat, Inner Bone Moon. (The middle of the winter.) It is also called Ku Súipitik, Big Cold.
8. Óvalik Marsat, In Heat Moon. (When the animals are in heat.)
9. Kíhotak Marsat (untranslatable). Meaning: When the animals have lost their fat.
10. Kómaki Marsat, Gray Moon (*kómak*, gray). (When the trees are without leaves.)
11. Tjuutáki Marsat, Green Moon (*stjuutak*, light blue or light green).
12. Oám Marsat, Yellow Moon (usually *suváni*, yellow). (Yellow flowers on trees, bushes, and plants, such as the palo verde, the greasewood, century plants and cacti.)
13. Hikokiapik Marsat, Flowers Disappear Moon. (Plants begin to make fruit.)

124 The old man was amply rewarded for his interview and consented to be photographed, though his wife, with the usual Papago ignorance of money value, prevented

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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me from finishing the operation by telling him to ask eight additional dollars for his consent.

Their camp consisted simply of a roof of branches resting on four poles, sufficient to provide some shade during the day. Early in the morning all the female members of the household could be seen proceeding on their fruit-gathering expedition, each armed with a large basket and the usual pole, about twenty feet long and made from two pieces of sahuaro rib. At the top of the pole, as well as lower down, there is a kind of hook made by tying crosswise in these two places a small piece of greasewood by the aid of which the spiny fruit is broken off. Two or three hours later they returned, each carrying on her head her share of a heavy harvest. The skin with its spines had been removed in the field, so the inside of the huge water-tight basket presented an appetizing mass of crimson fruit pulp, as well as a great amount of similarly colored juice, which would keep for a few hours only. Most of the contents of the baskets was immediately emptied into large jars, to be boiled for about two hours, when the mass is strained in order to separate the numerous small black seeds. The juice is boiled for hours longer until it becomes sirup (*sitoli*), which is kept for future use in small earthen-ware jars, each neatly sealed with a piece of broken pottery and sticky mud. Being pleasant to the taste and much superior to molasses, I found this sirup excellent as part of my provisions. I also relished the fresh juice of the fruit when brought in cool in the morning.

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cepted. He immediately commenced to move his things out so as to give space enough for my cot. The tiny house had a good roof of greasewood branches covered with earth. A few yards in front of the door-opening, toward the west, was the usual arrangement of a jacal that provided a grateful shade. The Indians had arrived here only the day before, and the old man had decorated the door-posts with fresh greasewood branches, which gave the modest habitation a festive and cheerful appearance. I felt comfortable in my new quarters, and prepared to stay here for several weeks.

Among the friends I gradually made was one whose civilized name was Simon, who became of great service in helping me to get specimens and information from the Indians. He made a good beginning himself by selling me his clown's outfit, more or less complete, an unexpected discovery in these days when advancing civilization is destroying all the sacred emblems, customs, and beliefs of the natives. These were implements used at the great harvest feast, *víkita*, which is given every four years at Santa Rosa. The name is derived from the word *víiki*, by which is designated the finest and smallest plumes of the vulture. Manifold preparations are made for the event, which comes off in the "inner bone" moon, about November or December, after the harvesting of corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons. The participants dress up and practise their parts in a large, open, square enclosure of brushwood fences, where afterward many ceremonial objects which were carried about during the festivities are left. I was told that

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procure. The *carreros* (wagon owners) all seemed to be away, though expected back.

Through the kind assistance of the Japanese doctor I secured an acceptable interpreter, a pure-blooded Papago, Clemente, and finally, through a prominent business man, a wagon was engaged, which was to be driven by its owner, Alberto Celaya, an intelligent Mexican who knew the country, having been born and raised at Quitovac. Caborca being the last place for mail, I should from now on have to depend for news of the outside world upon some obliging traveller who, going westward, might bring along my letters and newspapers. For the first days or weeks one misses sorely one's mail, especially if interested in knowing what takes place on the rest of the globe, but after a while one gets used to being without news, and on an expedition of this kind it is far the best plan to go heart and soul into what is being done; a world of one's own is created for the time being, rich in events through the conquering of obstacles, the visiting of new places full of interest and the observations to be made, besides being a source of much delight to any one who opens his heart to nature.

After so much delay I was glad to get a start. About six miles from Caborca an old mezquite tree growing on the eastern bank of an arroyo is passed. It has the mark of a cross cut into the trunk, because this tree used to be the goal of the Papago ball players of Caborca; the judges are said to have been on horseback. A few hours later our wagon, which was guaranteed to be in first-class condition and looked it, suddenly gave us a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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being able to breathe freer in the lower stratum of air. As soon as all were seated, including members of the family, the old medicine-man took the word. Without further formality he began to tell about the creation of the world by Elder Brother Ítoi and about the deluge. After having dwelt on these themes for half an hour or more, he asked my interpreter if I believed the world was created as the Papago believe, or if I entertained the belief of the Mexicans. Clemente very diplomatically answered that he had never asked me of my beliefs. The lore of the tribe arouses strange feelings even in a civilized Papago, for an Indian is nothing if not religious, and Clemente became eloquent, confessing at the start that he, having been brought up among Mexicans, knew little of his own religion. A man of position from Quitovac, on a visit to La Nariz, expressed his opinion that surely all nations have different religions and different gods, and the Papagoes were contented to have theirs, Ítoi.

Among the Indians who were serviceable here was a man of slightly darker complexion than usual, but tall and of very fine appearance, as evidenced in his name, Rainbow. His family were also nice and in his house I felt at home, changing films for my camera in the cool shade of the dwelling and even photographing the inmates. With him I visited ancient fortifications on the dark looking hill, of igneous origin, hardly four hundred feet high, which gave La Nariz its name. Where the trenches begin, about half-way up, there is a large stone as high as a man's chest; on its flat top were small artificial excavations in a row, each looking like the inside of a cup,

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

312 796 tion in the houses, camp near the pool. The writer was fortunate in having the [124] opportunity of visiting Quitovaquita during a fiesta, as the guest of Joseph Menager, who has a ranch near the border, and who speaks fluently both the Spanish and Papago languages.

796 We reached the village at 8 o'clock in the morning, and stopped at the house of the chief, whose Spanish name is Manuel Ortega. We went a half mile into the desert to the grounds where the ceremony was to be held, and met a number of the men who were to participate. Hanging on a small shelter were the ceremonial trappings that later were to be used during the 796 293 [532] fiesta. They consisted of deerskin masks that fitted over the head, the fronts of which were pierced by two holes for the eyes, and from the lower edges hung long fringes. Sashes of bright-colored fabric, necklaces composed mostly of blue-glass beads interspersed with short lengths of shell beads, bunches of eagle-feathers, robes, anklets girdled with cocoons filled with fine sand, and girdles of deerskin, suspended from

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Papago Agricultural Workers in Pima County. Agricultural work off the eservation is of such great importance to Papago family economics that we felt it ecessary to make a special study of this subject. The project was planned and xecuted in 1961 by Mr. Harland Padfield, a Department of Anthropology graduate tudent who is an authority on this subject. Unfortunately, the study was limited o Pima County since funds did not permit the extension of the research to other ections of southern Arizona.

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Mr. Padfield was able to establish two points: (1) Papago Indians in arm work are shifting to other jobs than seasonal cotton picking and are not eing displaced because of mechanization, (2) they account for 30 percent of the otal man-hour input and 27 percent of the total wage input on Pima County farms nd receive total annual earnings of about $630,000. The evidence, although not onclusive, also indicates that there is a steady increase in the training and se of Papagos in the operation of farm machinery and in other skilled jobs.

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The author concludes his report with the following words: "These data hould make it patently clear that with the Papago Reservation virtually surrounded y 370,000 acres of farm land needing a labor force in excess of 10,000 workers nd a labor expenditure probably in excess of $13,000,000 annually, programs and olicies aimed at the problem of Papago economics cannot ignore farm labor; either can programs and policies aimed at the problem of farm labor ignore the apago Indians."

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Padfield's work was based upon an area sample which permitted him to eneralize from detailed interviews with 21 of the 119 farm operators in Pima ounty with a total acreage of 29,796 out of 66,875. Data thus collected was upplemented through interviews with crew leaders who recruited the seasonal orkers, mostly cotton pickers, for the farms drawn in the sample.

The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1] 60% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).
[2] Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%
[3] Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.
[4] This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.